2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

847 If the baby died and the woman wanted another, she buried it near the surface. If she wanted no more, she buried it deep. Women [848] professed to know nothing about means of abortion saying that there was little need for them, since an unmarried mother suffered no stigma. Deformed babies and those born by "light women" who did not want the burden were dropped in an arroyo to die of [843] exposure. It was considered that a woman who had a husband and did not bear children would soon die herself of the unnatural condition.

845 Twins were considered to be born shamans. People regarded 756 both them and their parents with some awe, since whatever they said would come true. Thus, if they said a certain person would die, he would: if they called him ugly, swollen, lame, he would become so. Therefore everybody made offerings to twins (the word used is the same as that for offerings made at a shrine). Their parents did the same. Anyone who rebuked a twin suffered. One informant slapped the cheek of a twin who annoyed her while gambling and immediately her arm swelled. She went to the twin for relief, bringing a gift. The child wet her fingertips in her mouth and touched the arm which immediately healed.

This power of twins did not persist beyond childhood unless they had dreams and became shamans in the regular way. However, they usually did so and were much more likely to dream than the average person. If one twin died, the other died also.

CHILDHOOD

[862] Babies were nursed until they were two and three years old. 753 One informant said, "My babies died. It was because they came 853 too fast. When there was a new one coming, there was not milk for the old one" (26). The cause of most infant complaints was supposed to be the fact that the fontanelle did not close properly. A shaman or an old women who had dream power inserted a finger in the child's mouth and pushed on the palate. This was thought to push up the [757] whole top of the head and close the fontanelle. Diarrhoea was treated with the vapor of canyon ragweed. The leaves were wet and a hot cloth laid over them, then the infant was set on the cloth in the vapor. Children's fevers were thought to be due to the hot breath of a dog. They and other diseases were treated in the regular way by the shaman.

●854 The child was carried on the cradleboard until it was able to walk. Mothers, on their long expeditions to fetch food and water, placed the cradleboard on top of the other contents of the carrying basket and while they worked, stood it against a tree. When the

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child was able to walk, it was carried on the mother's hip. When the mother went foot gathering, children of an active age were left at home with the grandmother. 854

Children went naked until the age of eight or ten. After this, the boys wore breechclouts and the girls a double apron, like their elders. Until this age, which was also that of taking up a few adult duties, both sexes played together making dolls of twigs tied together with corn husk. 857 [291]

"We went to a sunny place and played husbands and wives with our dolls. We girls would make our dolls grind corn. The boys would take their dolls and say, 'We go hunting.' 'Well, go,' said the wives. Then the boys would hunt all around the village and find a deer bone. 'Here is a deer for you.' Once we played a doll was dead and we were crying, but my mother stopped us. 'You mustn't talk about the dead.'"

Children hunted about the camp, generally roasting the small animals they killed on the spot. Boys might dig rats out of their holes. After the rains all children chased the birds while their feathers were too wet to fly and caught them in their hands.

Girls played "jackstones", (p. 147) and practised double ball but did not gamble until they were older. Boys practised kickball and shooting at a mark. Both girls and boys practised daily on the race track, while the adult relatives arranged children's races, umpired them and bet on them.

During this early period before the age of ten or so a good deal of consideration was shown children. Girls were not allowed to pick cactus; "they are too young, thorns would hurt them". They need not go through the privations which their parents endured during a purification. "Children cannot suffer." The whole family showed them a great deal of affection. If a small child in a Papago house is not actively playing, it is generally in the arms of someone, male or female. The children run freely among their elders without rebuke. The writer has seen a child interfere constantly with the work of a potter without receiving more than a smile. 855

When taking texts, the writer was seriously inconvenienced by two boys romping through the small room and drowning out the informant's low voice. She asked the interpreter if it would be possible to stop the boys and he replied, "I don't think so. They are his (the informant's) grandchildren." Therefore, the text taking stopped occasionally, while the grandfather smilingly waited for the noise to lessen (4).

Children habitually run among the dancers in a ceremony and talk and shout during the singing. One informant, telling of an

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Then the girls put the nets on their backs and if one was married and had a baby, she put that on top in its cradle board. Some men went with them with their war arrows because there were Apaches in the land then. They all went running, running. If they saw dust in the distance that they thought was Apaches, they went dodging behind the giant cactus. You see, women had to run in those days. That was what saved their lives. Many hours they had to run, and when they came back every family had two little jars of water to last for the day. But we did not mind. We knew how to use water. We have a word that means thirst-enduring and that is what we were taught to be. Why, our men, when they went off hunting, never drank at all. They thought it was womanish to carry water with them. 159x 371 482 854

My brothers went running off, too. Ah, how we could run, we Desert People; all the morning until the sun was high, without once stopping! My brothers took their bows and arrows and went far off over the flat land. 159x 481 787

"Run," my father said to them. "Run until you are exhausted. So you will be a strong man. If you fall down tired, far out in the waste land, perhaps a vision will come to you. Perhaps a hawk will visit you and teach you to be swift. Perhaps you will get a piece of the rainbow to carry on your shoulder so that no one can get near to you, any more than to the rainbow itself. Or maybe Coyote himself will sing you a song that has magic in it."

So they went off in their breechclouts and bare feet, running in the dark when they could hardly see the cactus joints on the ground and the horned toads—rattlesnakes there were not in that cool weather. One of my brothers did really have visions. The others used to come back without him, bringing jackrabbits for our dinner. The little boy would come in much later and never tell where he had been. But we found out long, long after, when he became a medicine man, that he had been lying dead out on the desert all those hours and that Coyote had come and talked to him.

When they were gone my mother would come crawling out. She went to the little enclosure beside our house, made of greasewood bushes piled up in a circle and she got the pot of gruel. We always kept gruel in our house. It was in a big clay pot that my mother had made. She ground up seeds into flour. Not wheat flour—we had no wheat. But all the wild seeds, the good pigweed and the wild grasses. And corn, too! Some summers we could grow corn. All those things my mother kept in beautiful jars in our storehouse. Every day she ground some more and added fresh flour to the gruel and some boiling water. That pot stood always ready so that whoever came in from running could have some. Oh, good that gruel was! I have 159x 252 302 323

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I did not know just when the time would be, but I knew that I felt pain when I stooped out of our little door. I said to my husband's aunt: "I think I will go to the Little House. I would not like such a dreadful thing to happen as for me to be caught inside the house in childbirth." "Well, go," she said. This was the first I had said to her or to my mother-in-law either, the whole thing being so new.

There was a gully behind our house and the Little House was on the other side of it. When I reached the near edge of that gully, I thought I had better run. I ran fast; I wanted to do the right thing. But I dropped my first baby in the middle of the gully. My aunt came and snipped the baby's navel string with her long finger nail. Then we went on to the Little House. My sisters-in-law said to me afterward: "Why didn't you tell us? We didn't know you were suffering in there. We heard you laughing." I said: "Well, it wasn't my mouth that hurt. It was my middle."

I stayed in the Little House, for that was what my father had told me to do. "When you have your first baby, don't come into the house. Stay out until the moon comes around again. Then go to the medicine man and be cleansed."

So I stayed alone there for a month, and the family brought me raw food, which I cooked. I ate no salt until the end of the baby's navel string fell off, so his navel would not be sore. Then my husband and I and the baby went to the medicine man, and he gave us all white clay to eat as he had given me when I became a maiden. But he did not give my baby a name. We were modern and I let a priest name him, Bastian.

It was nice in our house. My young brothers-in-law had married and I had their two wives to keep me company. Feather Leaves was one, and Singing Dawn. We girls did the cooking for my mother-in-law and left her to her baskets. At night when we ladled the gruel out of the pot, we all ate two and two, each married couple with one bowl, drinking by turns.

My mother-in-law managed our work. "Come," she would say, "get your carrying baskets. Let us go for food."

So we would go laughing out over the flat land to dig the roots or up in the hills to cut the cholla. I carried my baby in its cradle board on top of the carrying net. While we picked into a smaller basket, I leaned the carrying net against a tree and balanced the baby on top.

Once I was digging roots like that and I got very tired. I made a pile of earth with my digging stick, put my head on it and lay down. In front of me was a hole in the earth made by the rains, and there hung a gray spider, going up and down, up and down, on its long thread. I began to go to sleep and I said to it: "Won't you fall?"

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child was born, because the baby had hot breath for days and days before it died.

I always knew when my children were to die. I am one who knows things, because, even though they took my crystals out, there was always something in me. Once, when my baby was sick, I dreamed that I was passing through a wash. A woman sat there with a child, and its hair was blowing back as though it was in the water, only the wash was dry. I said: "What are you doing here?" "We live here." I knew that meant something strange was coming.

Another time I dreamed that someone who seemed a medicine man again led me to a wash. It was full of babies and children, big and little, all crawling around over each other, like worms. "What does it mean?" I asked that man who took me. "It means all your children are going to die. You will have no children at your house."

But I saved one child, a girl. I gave her to my mother to nurse, because an old woman can nurse with us, as well as young ones. That girl grew up. She used to sit on my head when I was running along with the carrying basket, sometimes with another baby on top of it. I took her out to the hills with me when I was gathering fruit and cactus.

"Never step over a snake," I told her, "nor even the trail of a snake for you will have the vomiting sickness. Don't step on a horned toad, it will make you foot sore. And you must learn the difference between the big ants who are the medicine men and who sting and the little kind ants that will not hurt you."

When all our family camped for days and days, to bake the cholla buds, we made a little enclosure of boughs for our children. "Stay there and do not play hard. You will be thirsty and drink up our water." So they made dolls out of leaves and played at grinding corn with sand and little flat stones. Sometimes the children brought us something to eat. In the Month of Rain, when the birds got their feathers wet in the thunder storms so they hopped along the ground and could not fly, then our children would chase them and catch them in their hands. Doves and woodpeckers they brought in to us, and we roasted them on a spit with the feathers on.

We like children, you know. We talk to them quietly and tell them what to do, but we do not scold. When our children are running about the house, in and around everything, we let them run. If they break something, then that thing is just broken. We do not say anything. Sometimes they run across the circle when we are dancing. Or when the medicine man is going about with his branch of thorns, removing sickness, they might try to grab it. No one would speak about that. We like them to be happy.

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is ordinarily followed—usually after some months—by baptism. Up to this time the child is called simply "baby," for the name bestowed by the medicine man is never used as a term of address. 852 [551]

Sonora Catholic godparents sprinkle the child with holy water, say Spanish prayers over him, and give him a Christian name, which may have been selected long since by the parents but is formally recognized as a gift of the godparents. They give the baby a new set of clothing and feed the relatives and friends who have gathered at the church. In return the parents present them with a basket of native manufacture. Most baptisms in the West are like this.

The procedure in a Roman Catholic baptism is similar, except that the priest performs the orthodox ceremony, and the godparents must have been baptized and (if spouses) married in the church. As noted in chapter vi, however, the Roman Catholic child may have two sets of godparents, and in this case the Sonorans will also baptize the child. Presbyterians follow the usual baptismal rites of their church.

INFANCY

The keynote of a Papago infant's training is indulgence. The Desert People believe that a little child should be happy at all times, and it is his mother's responsibility to keep him so. The attitude of other adults in the home is also compliant. Until the next child is born, the baby is king, and his wish is law. Various kinds of training begin after his second birthday, but weaning and denials are so handled that the child feels as little restraint as possible. 854

The baby goes wherever his mother does—to the neighbor's, to town, or to a fiesta. He is rarely out of her sight and never out of her hearing; he lies in a bed or in a hammock in the house or under the ramada, wherever his mother happens to be working. The hammock is merely a blanket folded over two ropes swung from the walls or posts; it has no stiff framework and thus is soft and comfortable. Usually the ropes are slung so low that the baby can see all that goes on around him, but the hammock is deep enough to be secure, and the child is tied in, with his arms left free. His mother or some other relative keeps him swinging gently. When the mother takes him away from home, she lays him diagonally on a little blanket and folds the corners loosely over his body and face. In cold weather he is often first rolled tightly in another blanket. Being wrapped up seems to give security to the infant and usually quiets a restless child.

A baby is in his mother's arms whenever she is not occupied with some household task. A busy mother who has no one to help her may carry her baby around on her hip while she does her work. When he is lying down, his slight-

[Text continues on p. 121. - Analyst]

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PLATE XII

[p. 120]

Rosamond B. Spicer

UNDER THE RAMADA

Sister swings baby in his hammock while the mother works. Olla at right holds drinking water for the family

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est whimper brings her to him immediately, to talk to him or pick him up. 854
Often she will place him on his back across her knees and pat his chest with a slow regular beat, letting her lower arm fall as a dead weight on him. The stroke is heavy enough to expel the air from his lungs, but he seems to like it. If he persists in crying when she or someone else attends him, the mother eventually quiets him by nursing.

Papago babies are nursed whenever they cry from hunger or when they 853
can be quieted in no other way. Feeding is irregular; the child is usually nursed before bedtime (but this hour varies from day to day), and ordinarily once during the night, oftener if he awakens. Breast feeding is the almost invariable rule.[5]

If he is awake at the family mealtime, the infant sits on his mother's lap at 853
the table. At about six months, when he begins to notice the food in the dishes and perhaps fuss for it, his mother will feed him broth or juices of the food 862
on the table, or perhaps coffee, offering it to him with a spoon. Later he is given bits of mashed beans or potatoes by spoon, and little pieces of tortilla or a section of an orange to chew. At fourteen or sixteen months he is still nursing, but he is also taking regularly most of the solid foods served to the family.

Though still sitting on his mother's lap, the baby begins holding his own spoon at about two years. If he fails to satisfy his hunger, the mother feeds him more when her meal is finished. Since highchairs are not used, the child sits alone only when he is big enough to reach the table from an ordinary bench.

THE YOUNG CHILD'S DEVELOPMENT

From the time he is born until he begins walking, the Papago baby spends 854
almost all his time in his hammock, on a bed, or in someone's arms. Conse- 856
quently, he has little freedom for experimenting with the use of his legs. Some babies crawl on hands and knees, and others begin to walk on all fours with legs straightened. Usually, the baby learns to stand by pulling himself up on boxes or furniture and begins to walk after going through a short crawling stage.

Apparently this occurs between fourteen and twenty-two months, but this 856
is only a rough estimate. Many mothers say, "He walked at about the right time"; but this means little because their judgment is based on the child's size and strength rather than on age. Most mothers say that they do not try to teach their children to walk, that the babies "just do it." It is true that there is no urgent or even systematic coaxing, but many mothers amuse themselves

5. The investigator heard of only two instances of bottle feeding in Hickiwan District, both for supplementary feeding, and one of these was at the suggestion of the white teacher.

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856 by getting the child to take a few steps, and every mother is delighted when her baby starts walking. She beams with pride when she can get the baby to demonstrate the new accomplishment and rewards him with smiles, caresses, and loving words. On the other hand, not much concern is shown if a child seems to be slow in walking, and he is not shamed by his relatives.

Similarly, when he learns to talk is largely determined by the child's own development. The mother usually denies teaching the baby and says that he learned by imitation, though she may coax him by saying a few words and reward him with caresses if he succeeds in imitating her. Children begin efforts at speech at about twenty-two months; by two and a half years they are able to make most of their wants known verbally.

195 All Papago use baby talk in addressing a child until he is about five. There-
● 854 after he is supposed to enunciate clearly and is embarrassed when adults tease him by addressing him in baby language.

863 Cleanliness training is delayed until the child can walk and understand instruction. The infant wears diapers most of the time, and children up to about two and a half years always wear them in public. However, at home the older baby is frequently dressed only in a shirt. Urination in the yard, or even on the dirt floor of the house, is considered no misdemeanor in one so young. When he is about twenty months old, or earlier if he can walk easily, the mother begins taking him into the bushes away from the house and telling him to urinate there. His older brothers and sisters are instructed to take him with them when they go to the bushes, and he learns largely by imitation. He soon becomes aware of the extreme modesty of his relatives during elimination, and by the time he is three and a half or four years old he knows that he is supposed to go to the bushes with members of his own sex.

Mothers say that they do not have much difficulty with cleanliness training. By the time it is begun, the child is old enough to understand directions and to want to imitate his older playmates, and so he learns quickly. That he is perhaps three years old at the time is no cause for concern from the Papago point of view. If the child soils himself or his clothes after this time, his mother will make a face and utter a disagreeable sound, saying "dirty" or "nasty." She tells him that he is dirty and that he must not do that here, and sometimes she warns him that the animals or ghosts will get him.

863 The white woman trader in the West reports that she has seen mothers try
177 to make children of two and a half or three clean up their feces after they had an accident in the store. The women would scold and threaten all the time and then thoroughly wash the children under an outdoor faucet. Since this treatment was not observed in the home, and no mother mentioned having used

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it, the method may have been adopted for the occasion because the mothers know the fussiness of whites in such matters. 863 127

Weaning comes later for the Papago than for most white children. Unaware of her child's exact age at the time, the mother who is questioned about it is likely to laugh and say with a little embarrassment, "He was pretty big." Several instances were found in which the youngest child of a family nursed four or five years, but the older children were weaned at from eighteen to thirty months. A few mothers begin weaning at about a year, but they are a small minority; ordinarily the mother continues nursing well into the next pregnancy. 862

Several weaning methods are used. A few mothers in Baboquivari District said that they simply stopped nursing their babies and let them cry for four to fourteen days until they forgot, but elsewhere on the Reservation this was not the practice.

Mothers usually say they "just stop" nursing and that they have no particular difficulty. When a child begins fussing to nurse, the mother does not deny him straightforwardly but puts forth great effort to draw his attention elsewhere. She cajoles him into playing with his siblings or shows him a man coming on horseback or dogs fighting in the yard. Sometimes she is successful in diverting him, and, after several similar instances, the child does "just stop."

If a mother cannot wean a child by this process, she has two alternatives. She may leave the child with his grandmother for a time. If the grandmother lives in the same house, the mother goes away; if not, the child is taken to the grandmother. The weaning is not accomplished at one fell swoop; the baby is left for only a couple of hours at first and eventually overnight. His relationship with a grandmother is always cordial and going to see her is a pleasure, hence this weaning method, like the preceding one, is a relatively painless one. The child seldom gives any trouble for a grandmother; he seems to forget all about nursing unless reminded by the sight of his mother. [603]

A few women, usually those who have no mother or mother-in-law at hand to help, put chili on their breasts to discourage the nursers; one application is usually sufficient.

Weaning means that the child begins to sleep apart from his mother, for she no longer needs to nurse him during the night. In the eastern districts a crib may be provided for the baby, but the general custom on the Reservation is for the weaned child to sleep with one or more of his brothers and sisters in the same room with the parents. If there is no room in the bed with the older children, the baby may sleep with either grandparent or almost any other 866 854

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854 relative. There is no consistent pattern for this, and he does not necessarily
866 sleep with the same person every night. Only in rare instances are the two sexes separated for sleeping until children are nine or ten years old.

869 In addition to learning motor skills and being weaned, which are common to children everywhere, the young Papago child is taught another important lesson; he must not play with or handle wild animals. Since the Papago believe that nearly all animals can cause disease and that some are especially dangerous to children (see chap. vi), as soon as a child begins to walk around the yard he must learn to keep away from wild animals. He is warned away from a gopher mound and is not allowed to handle rabbits shot for food. These warnings are immediately effective and have a powerful influence on the child. He is imbued with a great and lasting fear of animals and of the sickness they bring (see chap. xiv).

PATTERNS OF CHILD-TRAINING

861 General patterns of child-training among the Papago are based on the belief
855 that a little child should be happy and therefore he should be humored as often as possible. His development should suit his own pace, and he should not be forced or even strongly urged to follow the wishes of older persons.

The attitude of adults toward little children is permissive, and they are not rebuked for interfering with the work or conversation of their elders.[6]

Children are allowed to play with almost anything they please except animals. Teaching care of property is not a problem, for there are few things in the Papago home which the child can damage. Anything which the baby should not handle is put out of sight. If he does cry for some forbidden object, his mother will try to interest him in a substitute; if he wants a china dish, he is given an unbreakable pan. Should he persist in crying for the dish, the mother will express her displeasure verbally, "Oh, Juan, don't cry! Why do you do that?" and at the same time renew her efforts to distract his attention. If all efforts fail, she will give him the desired object and watch him carefully as he plays with it. When one mother was showing the writer a valued clay figurine used in treating illness, her two-year-old son howled for it. Finally, she gave it to him, but she held him on her lap, keeping her hands on or near the doll, and directing his attention elsewhere as soon as possible. A valued object in the home of a relative or friend would be treated in the same way.

861 In situations where the child must be denied, efforts are made to keep him

6. Underhill (*op. cit.*, p. 139) tells of an occasion when she was taking texts and was seriously inconvenienced by two children who romped through the room and drowned out the informant's words. When she asked the interpreter if the children could not be told to keep quiet, he replied, "I don't think so. They are his grandchildren."

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from realizing that he is being refused. His mother will hide candy and tell him that it is all gone. When he is being weaned, he is not told, "No, you can't nurse any more" but rather, "Look, see brother riding the horse!" or "Let's go see Grandma."

Other than diversion and mild deception, the only sanctions invoked are supernatural forces or some non-Papago enemy. The child is told that he must not play with animals because they will make him sick or they might be ghosts. A mother who was visiting the writer tried to divert her child's interest from a Yaqui dance mask with which he wished to play. When these attempts failed, she said in a tone of fear, "You must not touch it. It is a ghost!" The boy turned away from the mask at once and did not glance toward it again the whole evening. After a hard tumble, his mother told him if he did not stop crying the Japs would come and get him.[7] The child became quiet immediately. It is significant that, in using threats of the supernatural or the enemy, the mother sidesteps responsibility for the denial; it is not she who refuses the baby but an outside agency potentially harmful to them both.

Corporal punishment of any sort is seldom used on Papago children under five. Slapping is not employed, but families with training in white ways sometimes spank their babies; it is more frequent in the more acculturated eastern districts. One widowed mother who worked at a post silenced her howling three-year-old by plunging her into a bucket of cold water and scrubbing her roughly from head to foot, scolding all the time, "I guess you are too hot, too hot in the head. Maybe this will cool you off!" Probably if the child had been at home, she would have received at most a scolding.

THE BABY AND HIS FAMILY

At least until the time of weaning, his mother is the child's chief source of pleasure and blame. As long as he is a "child" (i.e., under twelve years), he is fundamentally her charge and her responsibility. After weaning, the child is not so constantly with his mother as before, but she is usually near by to help or console him. The importance of the mother-child relationship is very clear to the Papago, as they frequently indicate: members of a family who are approached for interviews about a child will say, "You will have to talk to his mother"; when a baby cries at a fiesta, the bystanders ask, "Where is his mother?"

Although the mother-child relationship is of greatest importance to the

7. Among the Sioux, crying babies are sometimes hushed by being told that a white person will get them (see Gordon Macgregor, *Warriors without Weapons*, p. 128). In the incident just described, the presence of a white person prevented such a threat, if the mother had been in the habit of using it.

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593 854 young child, he has contacts with other family members from the day of his birth. Regardless of the identities or ages of the persons involved, their relationships with the baby are governed by the same principles as the mother's: a child should be happy; he should have what he wants. Their methods of dealing with the child are essentially the same as the mother's, and the degree to which they employ these methods depends on the intimacy of their associations with the child and their kin ties with him.

603 854 It is the grandmother who comes closest to the mother relationship with the child. Ideally this is the paternal grandmother who belongs to the household or lives near by; however, with changes in the old pattern of patrilocal residence, the grandmother of the household may be the mother's mother. In either case, she is a second mother to the baby. She probably assisted at his birth and is intimately associated with him throughout his babyhood. A familiar scene in Papago life is that of the mother and younger women of the household working under the ramada, while the grandmother, relieved of active duty, sits near by swinging the infant in his hammock or holding him in her arms. He soon learns that it is she who is nearly always free to answer his cries and that she is more patient and anxious to please him than the younger women or his brothers and sisters. Hence the child will go to his grandmother as readily as to his mother, often more so. Until he is weaned, the baby is never left by his mother with anyone but the grandmother.

Because of the grandmother's role as substitute mother, the child does not resent being left with her during weaning and always seems glad to go to her. After weaning he frequently stays with her when his mother wants to dance at a fiesta or work away from the house. The old lady expects to share the care of her grandchild and expresses her joy in having him with her by smiles, loving words, and caresses.

To the child the grandmother is, first of all, a gratifier and a champion. As he grows a little older, he sees her authority over all the other children and the adult women of the household as well. Her supervisory position does not affect him much as a very young child, but his early awareness of this role helps to teach him the patterns of authority in the household. Perhaps it also smooths the path of his entrance into the next age group, when he also will be subjected to her direction with somewhat less indulgence.

Grandfather, too, is a source of pleasure to the baby. If he is still active in the fields, the child will not see so much of him as of the grandmother, but the old man will always play with him after the day's work. If the grandfather is too old to do heavy work, he will probably spend many pleasant hours watching his grandchild. Then, or in the evening, when the family gathers, the small one

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may hear from grandfather some of the old Papago songs or stories and lectures on the virtues of industry and honesty. The baby soon learns that grandfather has authority over everyone in the household, even the baby's own parents. By the time he is old enough to run errands, he will show to his grandfather the respect and obedience due to the head of the house. 603 854

It should not be assumed from the emphasis on the mother's and grandparents' relationships to the baby that the father is merely a figure in the background. A man shares very little in his offspring's training in the first four years, for he must be away from the house most of the day. When he is at home, the father may watch the baby for short periods if all the women are busy, but if the child needs special attention, the women take over. Away from home, though the small Papago is primarily his mother's charge, the father is perfectly willing to help; in town or at the fiesta, if the mother has other cares at the moment, the baby is not infrequently seen in his father's arms. 593 854

A father shares the pleasure of all the Papago in having children and is free to express it. Tots reciprocate their father's love, and many show great joy when he comes home in the evening to play with them. The baby also early becomes aware of the father as the family protector. The child and his mother rarely leave the village unless the father accompanies them. A mother sometimes quiets her child by warning him of supernatural dangers that may come while the father is away and unable to care for them; the child knows that it is his father who talks to strangers and drives away coyotes that prowl too near the house. At night the little one knows the intimate physical protection of both parents, for he sleeps between them.

Frequently the little child is assigned to the care of a sister or girl cousin of from eight to eighteen. (If there is no girl in this age range, a smaller girl or even a boy acts as a guardian, and boys seem to attach no stigma of effeminacy to the task.) The guardian shortly comes to perform for the baby almost every service that the mother does except nursing, and if she is left in complete charge, as she occasionally is, the girl will direct and correct the baby exactly as his mother would. The relationship between the guardian child and the baby is an intimate one; if the guardian is not much older, she may show impatience with her charge, but the two usually get on well. 857 854

Other members of the household may be adult aunts, uncles, or cousins of various degrees. With the women the baby's relations will not be very close until after he is weaned. These women will tend him when mother or grandmother is otherwise occupied and will indulge or correct him as she does. After the baby walks and joins a play group of his siblings or cousins, the 602 854

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

602 854 women will have more supervision over him, particularly if the mother has another child. The men are friendly with the little child but never intimate.

From the beginning the child is strongly aware that these people are relatives. He is taught to use the proper kinship terms and slowly comes to see the lines of authority in the household.

854 851 The Papago baby's contacts with other children begin early if he is not the first child in the household. Small children are occasionally called on to watch the baby or swing him in his cradle. Otherwise youngsters ignore him, but now and then they evince a lively interest in him for a few minutes. They want to handle him and perhaps even to tease him, evidently out of curiosity to see what the baby will do rather than out of malice. The older boys of the household have almost nothing to do with the baby.

When a child begins to walk, he is likely to be intrusted to a play group of children from three to eight years of age, who will see that he does not wander away or hurt himself. The group will probably be of girls, as boys range too far from the house to watch over the baby.

Because the children in the play group to which the toddler is attached are older, they are in a position to exercise authority over the baby, and, thoroughly aware of this, they may try to dictate to the smaller one. If they can persuade him, it is legitimate for them to do so, but, if the baby does not wish to comply, he has only to raise his voice in protest; an adult will intervene at once to remind the children that the baby must be pleased.

OUTSIDE THE HOUSEHOLD

854 574 Within a few weeks or even days of his birth, a Papago child will see most of the people of his village, the majority of whom are probably related to him. Interhousehold visiting is not typical of the Papago, but in the course of cooperative work, of gift exchange, and of transmitting news families have rather frequent contacts. The child will also come in contact with the medicine man at birth and curing rites and with people from other villages at fiestas.

755 854 The relationship of the child with the medicine men and singers is not unpleasant. The birth ceremony previously described is simple and contains nothing frightening. The child will probably meet the medicine man next when he or some member of the family is ill. The sick child has nothing to fear from the medicine man, for the shaman never hurts a baby. He may rub or pat his body and suck at his flesh; he will surely blow smoke over him; he may sing and wave eagle feathers over him. Always he urges the little one to sleep and rest. If curing singers are called in, they speak kindly to the sick child and tell him they hope their songs will make him well. The songs prob-

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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ably have a relaxing quality, and the baby may be soothed by the monotony of the rattles. The loving attention of his mother or father always by his side, the friendly or even gay talk of all adults present, and the painless treatment of the shaman produce an atmosphere of reassurance. Children are never afraid to go to the medicine man. 755 854

Having a small baby seldom keeps a Papago mother at home. She bundles her baby up and takes him with her to every fiesta, where she sits on the sidelines, chats with other young mothers, and watches the dancers. Possibly she takes the child to the home of friends in the village. At night the mother carries him into the church; while she sits on the floor and joins the other women in singing and praying, the baby, rolled in a blanket, lies on the floor beside other sleeping children. 854

By the time he is two and a half years old, the Papago child loves the color and excitement of the fiesta, where he meets and plays with his small cousins from other villages. He is allowed to run around the dance ground under the watchful eye of his mother, grandmother, or aunt, and one of his sisters may dance with him or teach him to dance with another small child of the opposite sex. 857

During the fiesta the small child learns of a new danger. He finds that men, perhaps his father and uncles, at times, behave strangely. His female relatives snatch him out of the way and whisper, "Drunk!" in the same tone they use to warn him of ghosts. He learns to run away when drunks lurch near him and to ignore them completely when they accost him; sometimes he witnesses brawls or other violence. By the time he is five, he has probably developed a strong fear of drunkenness, but he views it as something to be expected at a fiesta. He is unconcerned with it as a moral issue. That concern, as discussed in Part III of this study, will come later. 867

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

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WIFE AND CHILD OF MATTIAS HENDRICKS

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

X533 *Analysis.*—This is a particularly pleasing melody. The keynote is D, but the most prominent tone is A. The song is major in tonality but contains only one major third; the interval of a fifth occurs four times, which is an unusual frequency for this interval. The time is more rapid than in a majority of Papago songs.

SONGS FOR THE ENTERTAINMENT OF CHILDREN

X533 854 In a majority of the tribes whose songs have been recorded a lullaby has been obtained. The following is quite different from that of the other tribes. The *gisuk* was said to be "a funny little gray bird that runs on the ground." It was not identified.

No. 162. Lullaby (Catalogue No. 1068)

Recorded by JUANA MARIA

TRANSLATION

Gisuk, black-headed gisuk.
Run and come so the baby's eyes will go to sleep.

X533 *Analysis.*—This simple melody is based on the minor triad and fourth. The descending minor third G-E occurs eight times, giving a somewhat plaintive character to the song. The rhythmic unit differs slightly in its recurrences but the differences are probably due to the words. Attention is directed to the fourth and fifth measures which resemble the second and part of the third measures but show a change of accent. A similar phrase occurs near the close of the song. Thirty-four of the thirty-nine progressions are whole tones and minor thirds. Ascending and descending intervals are more nearly equal in number than in a majority of the songs under analysis.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

The singer said, "An old grandmother used to sing this song when she was taking care of the baby." 533^x 854

No. 163. "The Squirrel and the Mesquite Beans"

(Catalogue No. 1052)

Recorded by JOSE ASCENCIO

TRANSLATION

Now the beans begin to appear on the mesquite trees. Ground squirrel does not want to wait until the beans are ripe, so he climbs the trees, gets the beans, and scatters them green under the tree.

Analysis.—The characteristic of this song is a succession of ascending and descending intervals of about the same size, giving an effect of motion and agility. The same peculiarity has been noted in songs concerning animals recorded in other tribes.[41] The song has a compass of seven tones and the tone material is that of the fourth five-toned scale. 533^x

[41] See Bur. Amer. Ethn. Bulls. 53, p. 122; 61, p. 84; 75, p. 309.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

X 533 854 825

The following song is similar to the preceding one. It should be remembered that the robin goes to southern Arizona at the beginning of their cold weather, being a harbinger of winter instead of a sign of spring, as in northern climes.

No. 164. "The Robin Brings the Cold Wind"

(Catalogue No. 1053)

Recorded by JOSE ASCENCIO

TRANSLATION

The robin spreads the green wind on us.
He spreads the coldest wind on us.
Now knock him down with a stick.

X 533

Analysis.—The tone material of this song is the fourth five-toned scale. The song begins and ends on the fifth and has a compass of seven tones. One-third of the progressions are fourths, an interval which has been found to characterize songs concerning birds and animals. The rhythm of the song is characterized by a succession of eighth notes but these appear in so many connections that they can scarcely be said to constitute a rhythmic unit. The song contains no note values except eighth and quarter notes.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

[Facing p. 56]

PAPAGO ETHNOLOGY

a, Saddle-bag of coarse fibre; length, 1.57 metres. *b*, Canteen of pottery ware, used when working in the field; height, 17 ctm. *c*, Cradle, with detachable hood; length, 56 ctm. *d*, Bundle of martynia pods, split and ready for use; they furnish the black color in basketry. *e*, Bundle of martynia pods, stored for future use. *f*, Water jar; height, 34 ctm. *g*, Package of dried squash bands; length, 31 ctm. *h*, height, 29 ctm. *i*, sahuaro baskets, water-tight, used in harvesting sahuaro fruit and in wine-making. *k*, Granary basket for keeping maize, wheat, etc.; height, 60 ctm.

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7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

316 ing the crowd would begin to work as near him as pos-
571 sible. No ill feeling or fights ensued; they would each earn from four to five dollars a day. The miners when
515 coming home would always wash after changing their clothes. Considering the trouble of getting water at the only well, their cleanliness may be considered an example even to whites. The women are particularly cleanly, and wash their own clothes frequently as well as those of their husbands.

181 Judge Day and his family, who have been living
577 here among the Indians for so long a time, gave very good reports of their neighbors. He had spent twenty-two years among Indians, and considered the Papago the safest. "As a rule, they are honest," he said, "though there are scalawags among them, but these are discredited by their own race. The women will steal trifles, picking up a rope or the like, but the men will seldom do that. The store often gives an Indian twenty dollars on credit, and he will apologize if he does not pay in ninety days. These Indians, like the Mexicans, are pleased to be in debt, because they consider it an honor to be trusted. If the average native *says* he will pay his debt, he will do so."

●854 Like all Indians, the Papagoes are kind to their children, the father no less than the mother. An Indian couple were purchasing some articles in the store while I was present; their strong and fat infant was crying continuously in its mother's arms, she trying vainly to stop its wails. Finally, I saw her, with a few words, hand the babe to her husband, a boyish, good-

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

looking man and apparently younger than herself. He took the howling nuisance gently and walked resolutely off into the hot sun. I wondered what was going to happen. He went straight to the well, gave the fretful youngster a bath, and returned in a few minutes with his purpose accomplished.

It may be of interest to note the manner in which the daughter of the American family at Horseshoe, who when twelve or thirteen years old was in poor health, grew to be strong and well. Being brought up with the Indians, whose language she speaks, she taught herself the accomplishment of every Indian girl, to carry a water-jar on her head. This made her healthy, and now she weighs one hundred and fifty pounds.

To the north of here, only about six miles, travelling by the track, is an important rancheria, Tjiuvak ("Where Something Decayed"), lying among low hills in the Quijotoa Range, where a road passes from east to west. I was desirous of seeing the best-known basket-maker who lives here, but she, like the rest, had just left for the summer ranch. The place looked much like a village, but was temporarily abandoned on account of the season, so we continued our journey northward by an excellent road that had been furnished mainly by nature. It was a slightly downhill drive, the country now almost imperceptibly sloping toward the Gila River.

We arrived late at a summer rancheria with the somewhat disconcerting native name, "Dead Old Man's Well." Here we expected to find the people of the win-

17:Castetter & Underhill N,E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

285 and weft of the soapweed *(Yucca elata)*. A form of screen door was made by joining a row of sahuaro slats by one or two rows of deer hide thong in simple wrapped weave, while for a shelf they used a narrower row of similar slats stiffened at each end by a transverse slat bound on with a thong.

285 854 The cradle board was about two feet long, made on a frame of catclaw twigs, willow twigs, or mesquite root in the shape of an elongated arch, while transverse pieces of giant cactus rib were bound across this frame with deer sinew. The transverse pieces did not extend to the rounded end, where a small coiled basket was lashed to hold the baby's head "so it will not be flat like an Apache." A small mat of shredded aloe fiber was laid over the giant cactus ribs, while another similar mat covered the baby and was lashed to the cradle with buckskin thongs.

285 231 Bird cages were made with two triangular or arch-shaped ends over which was tied a flexible mat of giant cactus ribs, made on the principle of the door.

285 For ceremonies such as the *vikita* or harvest festival, large structures were made, sometimes six feet square, representing clouds or mountains. The basis was a framework of flexible ocotillo rods *(Fouquieria splendens)*, bent into shape and lashed with thongs. These were carried on light platforms made like the shelf.

COIL WITHOUT FOUNDATION

285 415 The carrying net is no longer used since the Papagos have come into possession of wagons, but it has frequently been described by earlier observers (16, also Weltfisch unpublished).

The net itself was of two-ply aloe fiber *(Agave americana)* in the shape of an inverted truncated cone, the stitch being what has been called "coil without foundation." The cone was supported by four cross poles and fastened to the rim at the top by hair cord, which also passed through the hole at the bottom to be tied again with hair cord under-

[Arizona Labor Camps]

751
825 In visiting labor camps in the course of this study, the writer saw Papago babies lying on the ground on a blanket in the shade of a camp cabin with flies in
[854] clusters at their eyes and nostrils while the mother went about her work. Papago women were seen cooking
[252] with flies buzzing freely around, and the daily pot
[264] of frijoles often sat on a spotless oilcloth table cover with flies zooming in through an open door to the feast.

751 In fact, in the heat of late Arizona summer and
362 early fall--the serious fly season--the doors of labor
825 camp cabins are closed only when no one is in the cabin. Every breath of air is precious in the oppressive heat. This is true among the Desert People even when they live in excellent concrete block cabins with spacious screened windows and screen doors. They seem to hold a somewhat Steinish concept that a door is a door is a door, whether wood or screen, and they prop open a screen door to let in air just as they would a wooden door.

[659] This all points to the big job the Indian Bureau school and medical service still must do in educating Papago mothers and children to the dangers of the ordinary housefly.

That lack of cabin screening, and Papago lack of knowledge of its necessity is really serious in the labor camps is convincingly shown by other sanitary conditions--or their lack--in these rural slum towns.

TOILET FACILITIES

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[466] Whatever the construction of houses in their camps, Pima and Pinal county labor camp operators provide very much the same kind of toilet facilities. In fact, they are almost unanimous in digging a pit and erecting over it the unpainted, rustic outhouse of folklore. Over 95% of the camps in the area exhibit outhouses as alike as boards sawed from the same log.[1] A few long established farmers making a life-time career of their land provided plumbing for their laborers--significant chiefly for proving that it can be done.[2] They had small cotton plantings and hired few pickers.

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[1] Based on: 20 of 21 camps in Pinal county and 22 of 23 in Pima, or 95⅓%.

[2] Basis: 1 of 21 in Pinal and 1 of 23 in Pima county, 4⅓%.